

in the name of the workers and peasants, but were all intellectuals. And in the end, most of the peasants were against us.

END OF GAME—SANDINISTAS STUNNED BY SCOPE OF ELECTION LOSS

The war eventually forced the Sandinistas to agree to internationally supervised elections. They lost—to Violeta Chamorro, publisher of *La Prensa*, one of their most important allies during the war against Somoza—in a landslide that stunned them.

"We had a naive syllogism: If it was a revolution for the poor, then the poor couldn't be against us," Ramirez said. "But we should have known much earlier. We started out with 90 percent of the population behind us. By 1985, there were 400,000 Nicaraguans who had fled to Miami, several hundred thousand more in Costa Rica and Honduras, and we still only got 60 percent of the vote. The Nicaraguan family was split."

Since the 1990 election, the Sandinistas have lost three more elections (one presidential, two for local offices across the country) by nearly identical margins. The party newspaper is closed, the party television station under the control of Mexican investors. Two major scandals—one over the way Sandinista leaders looted the government on their way out of office in 1990, another over allegations that Daniel Ortega molested his stepdaughter for nine years, beginning when she was 11—have been sandwiched around countless minor ones.

Those who govern now say the Sandinistas left nothing behind but wreckage. Nicaraguan Vice President Enrique Bolaños, a lifelong opponent of the FSLN whose farm was confiscated during the revolution, says it will take decades to undo the damage the Sandinistas did to the Nicaraguan economy.

"Per capital income dropped to the levels of 1942 when they were in charge," he said. "The trade deficit, which had always hovered around zero, went up to \$400 million to \$600 million their first year, and its stayed there ever since. Even if we get the foreign debt they left us under control—it went from \$1.3 billion to \$12 billion under them—that trade deficit will kill us."

Many of the party's most loyal militants—including Ramirez, Belli, Hassan and Cruz—have deserted it. Some are harshly critical of what the revolution left behind. Hassan, who has left politics and now manages a garment factory, said that what he saw during the revolution has soured him on the political left.

"I think the left equal populism, which equals give-me-give-me-give-me," he said. "What we bred here are people who say, 'I'll go to demonstrations and shout, but I won't work. I want a salary, but I won't work. I want food, but I won't work. I want a house, but I won't work.'"

But others believe that the revolution left some things of lasting value, including a sense that even poor people have inalienable rights.

"Nicaraguan peasant will look you straight in the eye," said Alejandro Bendaña, once Daniel Ortega's top foreign policy adviser, now estranged from the party. "That wasn't always true. When I was a kid, they walked up to you, bowing, humble and deferential, saying boss this and boss that. That is a legacy of the revolution."

Bendaña, like many past and present Sandinistas, believes that the revolution would have been worthwhile even if it never accomplished anything but getting rid of the Somozas.

"Our parents had failed to get rid of the bastard, and we were the ones who did it," he

said. "And to get rid of the dictatorship, armed force was required. Banging pots and pans in the streets, like in the Philippines, that wasn't going to do it."

Ortega, somewhat paradoxically, believes that the election that ousted him proves that the Sandinistas moved the country forward.

"When we lost the election, we gave up the government," Ortega said. "That hadn't happened before. What we have here is a typical bourgeois democracy—not a true people's democracy—but I still think it represents an advance for Nicaragua."

But being remembered as a transitional asterisk in Nicaraguan history was not what the Sandinistas dreamed of in 1979, when they boasted that they would do nothing less than construct a New Man, free of the chains of ego and selfishness.

"I always thought the revolution would be a transcendental story in human development," mused Ramirez earlier this month. "But it wasn't, was it?"

46TH ANNIVERSARY OF THE KOREAN ARMISTICE

Mr. SHELBY. Mr. President, on July 27, 1953, the armistice was signed, ending the Korean War. On Sunday, July 25, 1999, nearly forty-six years after the fighting stopped, the Veterans of Foreign Wars gathered for the dedication of a Korean War Memorial in Fultondale, Alabama. I rise today, on the 46th Anniversary of the armistice, to honor the military personnel who faithfully served our nation in this conflict.

Many have wrongfully called Korea "the Forgotten War." I want Korean War veterans to know that we have not forgotten their brave service to our nation. The courage and dedication of American troops who fought on and around the Korean Peninsula should never be forgotten. The names of Pusan, Inchon, Chosin Reservoir and countless other locations where our forces fought against Communist aggression continue to bring pride to the hearts and minds of all Americans.

We are constantly and correctly reminded of the thousands of Americans who lost so much in the Vietnam War. Vietnam left such a lasting impression on our history that there has been a temptation to overlook our nation's first stand against the Communist threat in Asia. I am committed to insuring that we do not succumb to this temptation. We must not forget either the 37,000 Americans who gave their lives in Korea, or the 8,000 MIAs whose fate remains a mystery.

Those who served their nation from 1950–53 suffered much, but have left a proud legacy. The 8th Army, Far East Air Force, 1st Marine Division, and 7th Fleet proved their mettle in Korea and remain among the proudest names in American military history. The peace and prosperity which the people of South Korea enjoy today is the direct result of the gallantry of our Armed Forces. The 38,000 American personnel who currently serve in South Korea are

guardians of the liberty which their predecessors fought to establish nearly half a century ago.

Mr. President, I ask you and my fellow United States Senators to join me in recognizing the members of the Armed Services who sacrificed so much in defense of freedom and democracy on the Korean Peninsula.

THE VERY BAD DEBT BOXSCORE

Mr. HELMS. Mr. President, at the close of business yesterday, Monday, July 26, 1999, the Federal debt stood at \$5,636,525,745,471.93 (Five trillion, six hundred thirty-six billion, five hundred twenty-five million, seven hundred forty-five thousand, four hundred seventy-one dollars and ninety-three cents).

Five years ago, July 26, 1994, the Federal debt stood at \$4,632,297,000,000 (Four trillion, six hundred thirty-two billion, two hundred ninety-seven million).

Ten years ago, July 26, 1989, the Federal debt stood at \$2,802,473,000,000 (Two trillion, eight hundred two billion, four hundred seventy-three million).

Fifteen years ago, July 26, 1984, the Federal debt stood at \$1,536,607,000,000 (One trillion, five hundred thirty-six billion, six hundred seven million).

Twenty-five years ago, July 26, 1974, the Federal debt stood at \$475,807,000,000 (Four hundred seventy-five billion, eight hundred seven million) which reflects a debt increase of more than \$5 trillion—\$5,160,718,745,471.93 (Five trillion, one hundred sixty billion, seven hundred eighteen million, seven hundred forty-five thousand, four hundred seventy-one dollars and ninety-three cents) during the past 25 years.

MESSAGES FROM THE PRESIDENT

Messages from the President of the United States were communicated to the Senate by Mr. Williams, one of his secretaries.

EXECUTIVE MESSAGES REFERRED

As in executive session the Presiding Officer laid before the Senate messages from the President of the United States submitting sundry nominations which were referred to the appropriate committees.

(The nominations received today are printed at the end of the Senate proceedings.)

MESSAGES FROM THE HOUSE

At 9:46 a.m., a message from the House of Representatives, delivered by Mr. Berry, one of its reading clerks, announced that the House has passed the following bills, in which it requests the concurrence of the Senate:

H.R. 2561. An act making appropriations for the Department of Defense for the fiscal